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LIBERTY and LOYALTY:

O R, A

DEFENCE and EXPLICATION

Of SUBJECTION to the

PRESENT GOVERNMENT

UPON THE

PRINCIPLES of the REVOLUTION.

*The God of Israel said, The Rock of Israel spake to me,
He that ruleth over Men must be just, ruling in the Fear
of God.* 2 Sam. xxii. 2.

*Καὶ γὰρ βασιλεὺς αἰρεῖται, οὐχ ἵνα ἐαυτῷ καλῶς ἐπιμέληται,
ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ οἱ ἐλόμενοι δι' αὐτὸν εὖ πράττωσι.*
Socrates in Xenoph. Memorab. lib. 3. cap. 2.

By J O H N B R E K E L L,

Author of the CHRISTIAN WARFARE, &c.

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TITUS iii. 1.

Put them in mind to be subject to principalities and powers, to obey magistrates, to be ready to every good work.

THIS instruction was given to *Titus*, whom *St. Paul* had left in *Crete* upon a special occasion, viz. “to set in order the things that were wanting, and to settle the christian churches there under proper pastors.”* The inhabitants of that island have not the best of characters, “the *Cre- tians* are said to be always liars, evil beasts, slow bellies.”† They seem to have been, too generally, persons of a factious unruly spirit, prone to sedition, and apt to forget the duty and allegiance, which they owed to their lawful superiors.‡ It was therefore highly

* Tit. i. 5.

A 2 † *Ibid.* ver. 12.‡ See what is observed from *Suidas*, by *Dr. Whitby* upon the place.

highly proper "to put them in mind to be subject to principalities and powers, to obey magistrates, to be ready to every good work." And since the apostle *Paul* thought fit to give such a direction to *Titus*, I hope it will not be deemed impertinent or foreign to the ministerial office, to insist upon the duty of subjection to our lawful governors in a christian assembly; or that a christian minister acts out of character, and meddles in politics beyond his province, by inculcating the said duty upon his audience. But, if ever it can be reasonable to insist upon this topic, it must certainly be so, at a juncture, when a rebellion is actually formed in the nation, when a spirit of sedition is industriously spread and fomented by evil-minded persons, in order to overturn our present happy constitution, to subvert the laws, religion and liberties of these realms, and to introduce the most absolute tyranny and slavery both in church and state. Therefore, although I have no reason to suspect your loyalty to the present government, nor any occasion to vindicate my own; yet, in regard to the present situation of our public affairs, give me leave to put you in mind to be subject to principalities and powers, to obey magistrates, to be ready to every good work, which may contribute to the support of a legal government; and the maintaining of public order and peace. It will at the least
be

a great satisfaction to us all, to see the rational grounds of our loyalty cleared up, and placed in a proper and just light.—To this end, I propose to insist upon the following heads of discourse.

FIRST, To consider the *persons* to whom subjection is required as due.

SECONDLY, to explain the *nature* and extent of this subjection.

THIRDLY, To prove the *obligation* of this duty by some proper arguments. And then conclude the whole with some seasonable and useful reflections.

First, I am to consider the *persons* to whom subjection is required as due.

We are commanded to be subject to *principalties* and *powers*, by which we are to understand magistrates of *every form* and *denomination*. There are different species of government in the world ; but, in every distinct form of government, those invested with the governing power are the persons to whom subjection is properly due. Nor is subjection due to the supreme magistrate of a nation alone; but likewise to his lawful deputies, and those who act by his authority. And thus inferior and subordinate magistrates must be revered and obeyed in the proper execution of their several and respective offices. “ Sub-
“ mit yourselves, saith the apostle *Peter*, to
“ every

“ every ordinance of man, for the Lord’s
 “ sake, whether it be to the king as supreme,
 “ or unto governors, as those that are sent by
 “ him for the punishment of evil doers, and
 “ for the praise of them that do well.” * In
 which passage of scripture it is worthy of
 remark that St. *Peter* stiles the civil magi-
 strate the ordinance of man; and yet St. *Paul*
 speaks of civil government as the ordinance
 of God. † But, this different manner of ex-
 pression is easily accounted for, by distinguish-
 ing between civil government in general, which
 is the ordinance of God, and the particular
 forms of government, or, the particular per-
 sons invested with the governing power,
 which may be called the ordinance of man. ‡
 For, as no particular form of government
 exclusive of others is of divine right, so nei-
 ther have any particular persons authority to
 govern independently on the choice and con-
 sent of the people whether tacit or express.
 Originally mankind are all upon a level, and
 one man hath naturally no more right than
 another, to govern his fellow-creatures; but
 this right is conferred upon particular persons
 or families, as the crown is, elective or he-
 reditary, by national compact and agreement.
 Thus, *e. g.* the crown of these realms, for
 great and weighty causes, was settled upon
 the most illustrious house of *Hanover*, the
 pre-

* 1 Pet. ii. 13, 14. † Rom. xiii. 1, 2.

‡ See Dr. *Benson* on 1 Pet. ii. 13.

present royal family, by the act of settlement made in the reign of king *William III.* of immortal memory: to set aside which act, in favour of a renounced abjured and publicly excluded pretender, is the unreasonable attempt of the present unnatural rebellion; an attempt the more weak and wicked, as it proceeds upon slavish principles, and can only serve slavish purposes; because it is founded in a claim of absolute hereditary right in the prince independent on the consent of the people. And this is a claim no less absurd in itself than mischievous in its consequences. What was it, but the consent of the people, which made the crown of these realms hereditary at the first? Now, what the people can give, they can also take away, when the condition of the grant is not performed. If they can entail the crown upon a certain line, they can likewise cut off the entail again, when they see just occasion, and transfer the right to another family, or to another branch of the same family, as often as the great and valuable ends of government make it necessary so to do. And I will venture to say, whoever denies this right of the people, and acteth according to the opposite principle, such a person can be no friend to the liberties of mankind, but proceeds upon a plan of absolute tyranny and slavery, notwithstanding the most plausible *declarations* to the contrary. So that if *religion*

gion were out of the question, the cause of *civil liberty* and *property* itself is undermined, subverted, ruined by such a destructive system of politics.

If we look back to the *original* of civil government, it will manifestly appear, that, as the proper end of government is the good of the people governed, so those persons were in the beginning intrusted with the governing power, who were judged the best qualified to answer this noble design of their useful and important office.* And certain it is that, whether civil magistracy be considered as the ordinance of God, or the ordinance of man, view it in the light of a divine institution, of a human appointment, the proper design of government will evidently appear to be *this*, viz. promoting the public good; because neither God nor man could propose any other end by it, and consequently could invest no persons with a power to act inconsistently with this great end. Therefore the principalities and powers, to whom subjection is of right due, are those worthy magistrates, who faithfully execute their high trust, who rule for the good of the public, and who exercise their authority as they ought, for the benefit of their subjects. Because the
magi-

* Principio rerum, gentium nationumque imperium penes reges erat; quos ad fastigium hujus majestatis, non ambitio popularis, sed spectata inter bonos moderatio provehabat. *Justin, lib. 1, cap. 1.*

magistrates just authority is the rule and measure of our subjection, and so, where he hath no right to command, we can be under no tie or obligation to obey. From whence it follows, that when any prince goeth about to injure, and oppress his subjects, by endeavouring to deprive them of their rights and privileges; in this unhappy case, the people have a just unalienable right to withdraw their allegiance, to depose him and chose another in his room. And this is the wise rational and just principle, upon which the happy revolution was founded, under the prince of *Orange*; that glorious instrument which the providence of God raised up to deliver these nations from the apparent danger of universal slavery and oppression, both civil and religious, and to erect a standing barrier against those insupportable evils, in the protestant succession; which God preserve for this excellent purpose!

I am not ignorant that the secret and avowed enemies of that great and blessed work, have earnestly contended for another scheme of government, very different from what hath been described, and no less repugnant both to *reason* and *scripture*. These men have preached up the doctrine of *passive obedience* and *non-resistance*, as a duty indispensable under *any* government; the design of which wild and extravagant notion was to support the equally absurd opinion of

absolute hereditary indefeasible right in princes; as if it were lawful to resist and depose them on no account, in no case whatsoever. Upon these wretched principles it is, that the revolution aforesaid hath been ignorantly or maliciously censured and condemned, and the idle claims of a discarded pretender trumped up against it, by a gloomy set of men; who seemed to be formed for the most abject and ignominious slavery, and to have lost all the the noble spirit of humane christian british liberty. But,

Is it not shocking to *common sense*, to suppose that any man or any race of men, should have a right to govern and bear rule, to the prejudice, ruin and destruction of a nation? that this right is *indefeasible*, and never to be extinguished by the most male administration! that it is an *hereditary* right, which one tyrant may bequeath to another, and transmit to his posterity, how unfit forever they are to govern a free and happy people, and though they are as little qualified to answer the true ends of government as a race of fools or mad men. I say doth not common sense or reason strongly remonstrate against the absurdity and villany of this wild and wicked hypothesis?

The authors and abettors of this unwise, unjust and oppressive scheme of government are guilty of a further and a greater error, by adding *profaneness* to their *folly*; when they
would

would father their spurious system upon the *word of God*, and pretend to support it by the sacred authority of the *holy scriptures*. To this vile purpose the language of *St. Paul* hath been strangely perverted, in the 13th chapter of his epistle to the *Romans*; and such a construction hath been put upon his words, as if he had enjoined the most absolute submission and subjection to the worst of tyrants, because, it seems, that epistle was written at the time when *Nero* was emperor of *Rome*. This is the plausible, but vain pretence, which some weak or designing men have confidently made use of, to support their whimsical notion of the absolute unlawfulness of resistance, even under the most cruel inhumane and tyrannical government. As this is the sheet anchor of a desperate cause and the principal ground of the hypothesis I am confuting; I shall therefore confine myself to it, that I may have time to discuss it more thoroughly.

Now, here I dare appeal to any person of common understanding, who will take the pains to read that chapter with the least care and attention; whether *St. Paul's* system of government is not very different from *that* of the enemies of the *revolution*. But, instead of supporting the scheme of arbitrary power in the prince, and of passive obedience and non-resistance in the people, under a tyrannical administration: this great apostle

clearly shews, that the proper end and design of civil government is the good of the subjects; and upon *this* very principle it is, that he enforces the duty, and infers the obligation of obedience and submission to the higher powers. So that the proper ground of the apostle's argument for subjection fails, and ceaseth, when rulers become tyrants, and therefore he cannot rationally be understood to require subjection to them in that case. Nothing can be plainer to this purpose than the following words.*

“ For rulers are not a terror to *good* works,
 “ but to the *evil*. Wilt thou then not be
 “ afraid of the power? do that which is
 “ good, and thou shalt have praise of the
 “ fame. For he is the minister of God
 “ to thee for *good*. But, if thou do that
 “ which is *evil*, be afraid; for he beareth
 “ not the sword in vain: for he is the mi-
 “ nister of God, a revenger to execute
 “ wrath upon him that doth *evil*. *Wherefore*,
 “ ye must needs be subject, not only for
 “ wrath, but also for conscience sake.”——

And thus you see St. *Paul* himself urgeth the duty of allegiance upon the consciences of christians, from the consideration of the *beneficial* tendency and design of the magistrate's office, as ordained by God for the *good* of mankind, and for the welfare of civil society. Consequently, the apostle's argu-
 ment

* Rom. xiii. 3, 4, 5.

gument extends no farther than to the case of those rulers, who govern for a public and common good.

The truth of the matter seems to be plainly *this*: some christians in those days had their scruples about the lawfulness and authority of civil government in general, at the least as lodged in the hands of heathens. Now, for the satisfaction of these persons, *St. Paul* argues the point from the useful and excellent design of the magistrate's office. And *this* was enough to serve his present purpose, without descending to the personal characters of any rulers in being at that time; which was no part of the question in dispute.

But, that the friends of slavery and tyranny, and the ungenerous enemies of public liberty, may have no subterfuge left for their hypothesis; I will now make them as fair a concession as they can desire, and suppose, with them, that *St. Paul's* design was to press subjection to the emperor *Nero* in person. I hope however, to make it appear, that he was far from enjoining thereby a slavish obedience to cruel and tyrannical princes, or preaching up the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance under a persecuting oppressive government, but the contrary. This may seem a paradox to many people, who know nothing of *Nero* but his general character, as a cruel tyrant and persecutor. But as a great
author

author hath well observed, — “ Perhaps,
 “ how bad soever this emperor was after-
 “ wards he had not as yet shewn himself
 “ so, as to disturb and alarm his subjects
 “ by any public violation of right and ju-
 “ stice. The time of writing this epistle,
 “ bishop *Pearson* (who was an excellent
 “ judge in this case) fixeth to the *third*
 “ year of *Nero* : and we know from history,
 “ that he acted such a part in most things,
 “ upon his first coming to the empire, as
 “ obtained him a very great reputation for
 “ virtue, good nature and generosity. ” *

— Now, what is here suggested as a great probability, I shall endeavour to shew to be a certain verity, viz. that *Nero* was no tyrant but had the character of a good prince, at the time when *St. Paul* wrote his epistle to the *Romans*.

Taking it then for granted, that this epistle was written at the time aforesaid, I proceed to observe, that *Nero* died in the 31st year of his life, and in the 14th of his reign. † So that from, and after the date of the said epistle, *Nero* reigned about eleven years. During which space of time, he had sufficient leisure and opportunity (and being in the heat of youth he wanted no temptation) to change his

* Bishop *Hoadley's* measures of submission, &c. with the review, chap. 2.

† Obiit trigesimo et altero ætatis anno, imperii quarto decimo. *Eutropius, lib. 7. cap. 9.*

his manners and administration for the worse; which accordingly he did within that period, as will evidently appear from the memoirs of his life and reign.

It is certain that *Nero* began his reign with great popularity and general applause. “ He set out with a great shew of piety, * and to give further proof of his good dispositions, having declared that he would govern according to the prescript and pattern of *Augustus*, he laid hold on all opportunities, to shew his liberality and clemency and obliging manner.” † Infomuch that being desired to sign the execution of a condemned malefactor, he appeared to do it with the greatest reluctance, saying, “ how glad should I be if I did not understand letters.” ‡ These and such like things are related of *Nero* by *Suetonius*. Such then was the beginning of this emperor’s reign! “ His vices being yet concealed.” § As *Tacitus* saith of him; and the like remark the same historian makes of *Nero*, in the fourth or fifth year of his reign. || Now, this carries us below the date of the epistle

* Orfus hinc a pietatis ostentatione, &c. *Suet. lib. 6. cap. 3.*

† Atque, ut certiozem adhuc indolem ostenderet, ex *Augusti præscripto imperaturum professus*, neque liberalitatis, neque clementiæ, nec comitatis quidem exhibendæ ullam occasionem omisit. *Suet. ibid. cap. 10.*

‡ *Quam vellem inquit, nescire literas. Idem. ibid.*

§ Abditis adhuc vitiis.

|| *Vid. Tacit. annal. lib. 13.*

epistle to the *Romans*, as mentioned before. From whence I conclude that *Nero's* public character appeared to the world in a fair light, at the time when that epistle was written, *viz.* in the third year of his reign.

But, in order to give some farther light to this point of history, I shall here produce the testimony of *Eusebius*; who, speaking of St. *Paul's* first appearance before *Nero*, hath these words.* “ It is likely that, “ *Nero* carrying matters with more moderation at the beginning, *Paul's* apology met “ with a more favourable reception at that “ time; but afterwards proceeding to the “ most lawless outrages, among his other “ cruelties, he turned his fury against the apo- “ stles.”——From this passage I gather; that *Nero* was no tyrant or persecutor when St. *Paul* wrote his epistle to the *Romans*. Because that epistle was confessedly written *before* his first appearance before *Nero*; upon which occasion, nevertheless, he obtained a favourable audience through the then wonted clemency of that emperor.—Again, from the same historian we learn, that *Nero* was firmly settled in his government before he began to encrease his cruelties upon christians and others. And, by laying his account together, it

* Εἰκὸς γένοι κατα μὲν ἀρχῆς ἡπιότερον τὸ Νέρωνος διακει-
μένον, ἔργον τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δόγματος τοῦ παύλου καταδεχόμεναι ἀπο-
λογίαν προσελθόντος, δὲ εἰς ἀρεμίτας τύλμας, μετὰ τῶν ἄλ-
λων καὶ τὰ κατὰ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐγχειροῦναι. *Euseb. Eccles.*
Hist. lib. 2. cap. 22. p. 50. Edit. Vales.

it appears, that *Nero* did not throw off the mask, and break out into his extravagancies till the *eighth* year of his reign, that is to say, *five* years after the date of the fore-mentioned epistle.* In short, we have *scripture evidence*, no less than demonstrative, that *Nero* was no persecutor at the time when *St. Paul* wrote his epistle to the *Romans*. For it is evident from the epistle itself, that *St. Paul* wrote it before he had ever been at *Rome*. † And yet, after his arrival there, “*Paul* dwelt *two whole years* in his own
“ hired house, and received all that came in
“ unto him, preaching the kingdom of God,
“ and teaching those things which concern
“ the Lord *Jesus Christ* with all confidence,
“ (or freedom,) *no man forbidding him.*” ‡
But, such liberty would not have been allowed him, if the christians had been persecuted during that time, especially considering, that *St. Paul's* character was well known at the court, and to *Cæsar's* household. §

Upon the whole then, it is manifest, that the emperor *Nero* was no persecutor, no tyrant at the time specified. Consequently, if *St. Paul*, in writing to the *Romans*, pressed subjection to *Nero* in person; by so doing,

C

he

* Νέρωνος δὲ ἔχοντος ἄρχοντος τῆς βασιλείας τῶν ἡμετέρων, ἔτε —
καταλαμπρῆσθαι δὲ ἢ ἐν τῷ Νέρωνι τῆς ἀρχῆς αἱ ἀποστολῆς ἐφερέ-
λας ἐπιτιμολογεῖσθαι αὐτῶν ἰσχυρῶς τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν ἡμετέρων
ἐστέρειας. *Euseb. ibid. cap. 25, et 25 p. 54.*

† See *Rom.* i. 11,—13. † Acts xxviii. 30, 31.

§ See *Philip.* i. 12, 13, and 14, 22.

he did not enjoin obedience to a cruel tyrannical governor, but quite the reverse, even to a good and gracious, a just and generous prince; for such was the public character of young *Nero* at that very time; how much soever he degenerated afterwards, from the former mildness and lenity of his administration.

And now, what in the name of wisdom, becomes of the senseless and romantic scheme of absolute sovereignty and subjection, which the foolish notions of arbitrary power have endeavoured to erect upon this foundation? since the ground-work of their hypothesis is destroyed, the superstructure must fall of course, and tumble down upon their heads, as a ruinous heap of confusion, and a lasting monument of their own madness and stupidity. Upon the ruins of this great rebel, the wise principles of the revolution are firmly established and the noble stand, which was made at that critical time, against tyrannical oppression, is fully justified, upon the best maxims of reason and religion.—In answer then to the question, who the *persons* are to whom subjection is properly due; I say, in answer to this question, as applied to ourselves and to our own case at the present juncture, I reply, his *majesty king George and his lawful deputies*. It is by national consent that the crown of these realms hath been settled in his illustrious house, a consent as general as the nature of the case required, a
con-

consent that hath been repeatedly ratified by the most solemn oaths of allegiance, a consent which hath never yet been revoked, and which never ought to be revoked, so long as his present majesty, or any of his royal issue, wears the crown with so much honour to himself, and with so great happiness to his subjects, as the faithful guardian of our religion and liberties. But, if ever there should be a necessity for the sceptre of these kingdoms to shift hands again, by another revolution in the government, (which God forbid,) I hope the *British* nation will never be so infatuated, as to make choice of a person for their prince, who brings his politics from *Paris* and his religion from *Rome*.

Secondly, I now proceed, after considering the *Persons* to whom subjection is required as properly *due*, to explain the *nature* and *extent* of this subjection.

And here I must *premise* one general remark, which may rectify some popular mistakes, upon this head of subjection to civil governors, *viz.* that the subjection due to the *civil magistrates* only relates to *civil affairs*, and hath properly no concern with *religious matters*. This, I take to be a material point, which perhaps, hath seldom been rightly stated or understood; and therefore it requireth and deserveth our particular consideration.—The duty of subjection to

civil governors hath been stretched so far by some persons, as to include a *conformity* in religion to the sentiments of our superiors; as if it were unlawful to dissent from humanly established forms of worship. (A notion which I confess obtained among the heathens.* But this is no reason that it should be a rule for christians.) To this end, the *Jewish* polity hath been drawn into a precedent; but for want of considering the peculiar nature of that constitution, which was a *national theocracy*. Wherein the God of *Israel* was their proper lawgiver and king: and when any magistrates can produce the like positive commission that *Moses* had, to erect religious establishments *then*, but not before, may they require and exact a strict conformity to their own sentiments from all their subjects. The christian dispensation is of another nature. † The kingdom of Christ is not of this world. ‡ As he is the sole king and lawgiver in his church by the designation and appointment of God the Father; so, he hath commissioned no persons “to lord it over God’s heritage, § or to exercise a *dominion* “over their faith.” || On the contrary, our blessed Lord hath prohibited every kind of domination in spiritual matters among his followers.

* *Μακάριος μὲν πρὸς τὰ θεοῦ, νόμος ὡς δίδουται, τίμα.*—*Aur. Cæm. eid. Not. Tb. Marcell. in loc.*

† See *Puffendorf’s* nature of religion in reference to the state. *Sec. ii, &c.*

‡ John xviii. 36. § 1 Pet. v. 3. || 2 Cor. i. 24.

lowers. “ But, be not ye called rabbi, for one
“ is your master even Christ, and all ye are
“ brethren. And call no man your father upon
“ the earth; for one is your father, which
“ is in heaven: neither be ye called masters,
“ for one is your master, even Christ.” *
The doctrine of his apostles is perfectly agree-
able to their divine master’s instructions; and
nothing, which they have said concerning the
duty of subjection to civil governors, can be
extended to religious matters without the
greatest absurdity in point of true *criticism*.

The right method to understand the true
meaning of the *holy scriptures*, or any other
writings, antient or modern, is to consider the
circumstances of persons and things at the time
of writing. Let us apply this rule to the case in
hand, and we shall presently see, that the gene-
ral commands of obedience to *civil magistrates*
in the new testament, must be limited and
restrained to *civil affairs*. Because, in that
period the government of the world was in
the hands of idolatrous heathens, and continued
so to be for about three hundred years after
Christ; during which long space of time the
christians were *non-conformists* and *dissenters*
from all human establishments of religion up-
on earth. So that St. *Paul* had condemned his
own practice, and that of the primitive church,
in

* Mat. xxiii. 8,—10. concerning the proper meaning
of these different titles. *Vid. Selden. de Synedriis, lib. 2.*
cap. 3. sect. 10.

in the first and purest ages, if he had required christians to be subject to the civil magistrates in matters of religion. But, in this weighty and sacred affair, those wise and honest men proceeded by an higher rule than any human authority; a rule which must infallibly approve itself to the unprejudiced reason of all mankind, and may safely lodge an appeal on its own behalf in every man's conscious breast. The rule they went by was this; "whether it be right in sight of God to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye."*

Religion is an affair of the highest moment and importance; but it lieth immediately between God and every man's own conscience. It is founded in rational conviction, and a thorough persuasion of the mind. So that nothing can be more opposite and repugnant to the proper nature and essence of religion than the supposing it to be a thing which other persons may chuse for us, or lawfully impose upon us. On the contrary, so far as concerneth matters of religion, it is the duty of magistrates to preserve public order and peace, by restraining a spirit of persecution, and preventing their subjects from imposing upon one another in this great affair, and granting the free exercise of religion to all persons capable of giving proper security for their good behaviour to the government

* Acts iv. 19.

vernment they are under. In a word ; conscience is God's *vicegerent*, every man's own reason is a sovereign thing, and makes him a superior law to *himself*, which no power upon earth hath a right to supersede : otherwise, this absurdity would follow, *viz.* that God hath given out inconsistent and contradictory powers, which destroy each other : and, if this were really the case, the foundation of all religion and government too would be overthrown.

This then, is what I had to premise, in relation to the subjection due to civil magistrates, *viz.* that it relates only to civil affairs, and hath properly no concern with religious matters. To extend the duty farther, is plainly to pervert St. *Paul's* meaning ; whose words must have a *determinate sense*, equally applicable to christian and heathen magistrates.

—And now, who can be so blind, as not to see, that a popish prince must necessarily be a most unfit and improper person to govern a protestant people ? but, by sad experience all the world knows, that popery, wherever it hath power, is a persecuting religion. A melancholy truth ! which I take no pleasure in repeating. The facts upon which this heavy charge is grounded are too notorious to be denied, and too shocking not to be mentioned with horror and detestation. They are written in blood and may be read by the light of *Smith-field* fires, and numberless

berless other flames of protestant martyrs.* Blessed men! who rather chose to die, than embrace that absurd and inhuman religion, which put them to death. And this is the hard alternative, which we must expect to be offered to us, if popery, this *abomination of desolation*, should mount the throne, and ever come to be re-established in these kingdoms of *Great Britain and Ireland*. Turn or burn, will then be the word again. And, can any man be so stupid as to imagine, that a popish prince hath any right human or divine, to wear the crown, or to sway the sceptre of these realms? if such a pretender were not excluded by the general voice and vote of the nation (though without his own consent which was never to be *expected*, and therefore could not be *required* to make this act of the people *valid*) yet is he disqualified in the very *nature* of *things* to maintain our just rights and privileges, being self excluded, and self abdicated by his own destructive principles. And this clearly shews how reasonable and how necessary that public act of exclusion was, and how rightly the wisdom of the nation judged, in settling the crown upon a protestant branch of the royal family, that illustrious house which now wears it, and justly demands our most loyal obedience.

* See *Tone's* book of martyrs, *P. Limborch's* history of the inquisition, *Dr. Gedde's* tracts, &c.

dience.—What this obedience is, and wherein it consists, I am now to explain in some particulars.

1. This duty includeth *abstaining from all seditious practices*. This is the least thing that can be meant by being subject to principalities, and powers. The subjection here required stands in opposition to all resistance and rebellion. “ Let every soul be subject
“ to the higher powers, for there is no power
“ but of God, the powers that be, are ordained
“ of God; whosoever therefore resisteth the
“ power, resisteth the ordinance of God.” *
But by requiring christians to be subject to the higher powers, the apostle must be understood to forbid, not only open resistance by force of arms; but whatever hath a tendency this way, “ all practising out of a spirit of averse-
“ ness, opposition and contradiction.” †

2. It comprehends also a *dutiful and peaceable obedience to the lawful commands of our superiors* (acting within their proper sphere, of which before.) This is properly to obey *magistrates*. ‡ The laws and constitutions of a country so far as they no way interfere with the laws of God, nor intrench upon the divine prerogative, are the standing rules of civil and social life; and every violation of these rules is proportionably an act of sedition against the majesty of the state; which undermineth the foundations of civil society, and so tends only to anarchy and

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* Rom. xiii. 1, 2. † See *Dr. Whitby, in loc.* ‡ τὸ βίβλην.

confusion directly or indirectly, by the subversion of all public order. Therefore, that we may acquit ourselves well upon this head of christian duty, we must pay a due regard to the wholesome laws of the land, and study “to live peaceable and quiet lives in “all godliness and honesty.”* For, those men are a sort of rebels who act contrary to law and justice in public or private life: but especially they that by falshood and perjury destroy all mutual confidence between man and man.

3. Another branch of subjection due to civil governors, consisteth in *cheerfully contributing to the support of the government* by our persons and purses, as occasion requires from time to time. This, I presume, is what the apostle intends here in the text, by *being ready to every good work*. We should therefore grudge no *personal* labour and assistance when it becomes necessary to the public safety and utility; but be ready to hazard our lives as well as fortunes in the defence of our king and country, against our common enemies foreign and domestic. This is a good and a great work in times of common danger. † Besides, in the ordinary course of things, great expences unavoidably attend the administration of public affairs; and so the paying of tribute or taxes, is a necessary

* 1 Tim. ii. 2.

† See, all at stake, or an earnest persuasive to a vigorous self-defence, &c.

cessary branch of the duty and allegiance, which we owe to the government God hath set over us. “ For this cause pay ye tribute also ; for they are God’s ministers attending continually upon this very thing ;” * that is to say, upon the affairs of their high office, and it is fit they should be well payed for their attendance. This in part, is *rendering unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar’s* ; as Christ said with a view to the tribute-money. †

4. It is likewise the duty of subjects to *support the credit and authority* of their governors, by forbearing themselves, and discountenancing in others all *scurrilous and groundless* reflections upon the government. In this view, *St. Paul* may be supposed to subjoin the next words after the text, *viz. to speak evil of no man.* “ It is written, “ thou shalt not speak evil of the ruler of thy people.” ‡ *To speak evil of dignities* is treason in the lips ; and it is treason in the heart only to hear such language with pleasure, or without just offence. All endeavours to lessen the authority, and to sully the majesty of the government ; by rendering it odious and contemptible in the eyes of the public, have a mischievous tendency ; for which reason treasonable words as well as actions fall under the cognizance of human laws in all well-regulated societies. It

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* Rom. xiii. 6. † Luke xx. 22,—25. ‡ Act. xxiii. 5.

is possible, however, for cunning ill-minded men to *evade* the laws in this respect, and to libel the government with so much art and disguise, by distant hints and dark innuendos, that one may easily guess at their meaning, without taking hold of their words. But, if in such covert ways of reflection there is more guile, there is not less guilt than in the most open revilings; nay, of the two perhaps the former is the more dangerous and pernicious method of evil-speaking. There is commonly ill-nature enough in the world to be pleased with a satyrical jest. And thus, people are apt to be taken with the wit of a sly insinuation, when they would be shocked at the impudence of a downright assertion, which hath nothing to support it, but mere conjecture and surmise. In this case, insinuation commonly passeth for proof, and the artful *manner* of saying a thing, striketh the imagination of the unwary and injudicious so, as that they forget to consider what *evidence* there is for the thing itself, and so the wit serves instead of argument. By this kind of legerdemain, a political juggler may perform wonderful feats; he may strangely bewitch mens understandings, and, by the aids of false lights and colours, throw so thick a mist before their eyes, as will misrepresent every object; perfectly disguise the truth of things, and cause the most civilized country to look like a land of monsters. In short, a man that can fairly object
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nothing, that can prove nothing of consequence against a public administration, may be able to hint, insinuate and surmise a great deal; so as to make honest people wonder and stare, and imagine strange things, such as never were, never will be. But, so much for the gentlemen of this *craft*.

5. I might add, it is a christian duty to *pray* for our governors. For, whether it can properly be considered as a branch of subjection or not, to them, it is an instance of obedience to God the king of kings. “ I exhort therefore, that first of all, supplications, prayers, intercessions and giving of thanks be made for all men; for kings, and for all that are in authority; that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty.” * This direction of St. *Paul* was carefully observed by the primitive christians, † who prayed for the *Roman* emperor though an heathen, in their religious assemblies; and it is still a proper rule of christian devotion.

And now, having endeavoured to explain the *nature* and *extent* of that subjection, which is due to our lawful governors, I proceed in the next place,

Thirdly, To prove the *obligation* of this duty by some proper arguments.

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* 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2.

† See *Dr. Whitby's* collections on the place.

And here I shall only insist briefly upon some principal considerations, which are suggested to us in the *holy scriptures*: as this kind of argument must have a peculiar weight with every true christian, but especially with every consistent protestant, who professeth to take his religion from the bible as the sacred standard of his faith and practice.

1. We ought to be subject, in point of *common prudence*: because our own welfare and safety depends upon it. For a spirit of sedition, disaffection and rebellion tends to our ruin and destruction in this world. To this purpose the apostle hath observed, in relation to the office of the civil magistrate. "For he is the minister of God to thee for good: but if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain, for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doth evil." *

2. We must be subject to our lawful governors from a *principle of conscience towards God*. This is another argument, and reason of civil subjection expressly insisted on by *St. Paul*. "Wherefore, ye must needs be subject not only for wrath, but also for *conscience sake*." The true ground of which inference is *this*, viz. that civil magistracy is a divine ordinance; and therefore, whosoever resisteth the magistrate in the law-
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* Rom. xiii. 4.

ful execution of his office, resisteth the ordinance of God, and the minister of God: consequently every such person rebelleth against the divine government itself. This is the true state of the case as the apostle hath justly represented it.* So that subjection to lawful governors is no light or trivial matter, with which men may easily dispense, without any great inconvenience, under slight pretences; but we are bound in conscience, to the faithful discharge of this great duty, not only that we may escape wrath and punishment from men; but also to shun the displeasure of almighty God, who is a God of order and not of confusion. “ For they that resist shall “ receive to themselves damnation.” †

3. We are indispensably obliged to this duty, by the *relation we stand in to Christ*. This argument is urged by the apostle *Peter*, in the following words. “ Submit yourself to “ every ordinance of man for the Lord’s sake, “ whether it be to the king as supreme, or “ unto governors as unto them that are “ sent by him for the punishment of evil- “ doers, and for the praise of them that do “ well.” Christians are here commanded to submit themselves to civil magistrates for the *Lord’s sake*; that is to say, for the sake of the Lord Jesus Christ, whose disciples and followers we profess ourselves to be; in consequence of which profession, we are indispensably obliged to obey his *commands*, and
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* See Rom. xiii. 1, 2, &c. † Rom. xiii. 2.

to imitate his *example*, and thereby to consult the *honour* and interest of his *holy religion*. Nor hath our blessed Saviour set before us a fairer pattern of our duty in any one instance than in the case before us. Witness his humble, modest, peaceable behaviour throughout the whole of his deportment: to say nothing at present of the miracle he wrought to pay the tribute money, rather than give any offence.* And certainly a strict conformity to Christ in this amiable part of his moral character, cannot fail to reflect a great beauty and lustre upon our christian profession. How can we adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour better, than by the *ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which is of great price in the sight of God*, and appears exceeding comely in the eyes of men! therefore, on account of the relation we stand in to Christ, it greatly behoveth us to be subject to principalities and powers, to obey magistrates to be ready to every good work, as he hath taught us both by example and precept, for the honour of religion, and that we may not bring a reproach upon our holy profession by a turbulent factious and perversely uneasy spirit. This argument was of great force at the beginning of the christian church, when it met with violent opposition from an ignorant, ill-natured, ungrateful world; and it will have its weight still, with all persons that are sincerely concerned for the credit of christianity in an age of scandalous infidelity and apostacy.

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* See Mat. xvii. 24,—27.

I shall now conclude this subject, with the following brief reflections.

We may from hence observe, that the *right* and *claim* which civil governors have to the allegiance of their subjects, is essentially founded in their *usefulness* to civil society. So long as they discharge their high and important trust well, they are to be respectfully regarded as the ministers of God, in faithfully executing the office, which he hath ordained for a common good; and under this sacred character they justly deserve our highest veneration, and most affectionate loyalty, as the great *benefactors* of mankind.* But if they do not answer the proper end and design of their office; if, instead of supporting law and justice by a wise and equitable administration, they rule with despotic rigour, and pursue arbitrary, tyrannical and oppressive schemes of government; they are worthy to be despised and deposed, as no better than usurpers upon the common rights and liberties of mankind; although they were descended from a race of antient kings, vaunt themselves upon the justly exploded pretence of hereditary right, for want of better qualifications. In this case, that political maxim holds good; “it is expedient for us that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not.” † Give me leave therefore to remind you once more, that a

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* Luke xiii. 25.

† John xi. 50.

popish prince can have no right at all, but laboureth under a moral incapacity to govern a protestant people; for besides that religious slavery, leads the way to civil tyranny and oppression, a popish prince is a *sworn enemy* to the protestant religion; which his avowed principles (how artfully soever disguised upon occasion, to serve a present turn) oblige him to extirpate under the notion of damnable heresy.

2. We learn from what hath been discoursed, the great *evil* and *mischief* of a spirit of faction and sedition. As this temper and conduct is highly provoking to God, so it is very hurtful to men, and exceeding prejudicial to the peace and happiness of the world. It is possible, I confess, that persons may run into another extreme, by taking upon them to justify every step of an administration, right or wrong; and this proceeding also hath a very bad tendency. Because, by flattering rulers in any improper schemes, people encourage them to proceed from bad to worse, and thereby spirit up a stronger opposition to the public measures; and thus, the state is naturally split into opposite parties, which threaten the ruin and destruction of each other. (For, when parties are once formed in a nation, they are too prone to study each their own separate interest, instead of jointly pursuing a common good; and, where a party spirit hath once supplanted a public spirit; what must be the consequence?) — christian

stian prudence and piety will teach us to guard against both extremes of public *slavery* and *faction*; not permitting us on the one side, to justify bad things out of a false loyalty, nor allowing us, on the other side, to find fault, out of a spirit of contradiction and opposition without a cause, much less to make any resistance to the government without the most urgent and pressing necessity: such a necessity as *that*, which brought about the ever memorable revolution, when the religion and liberties of these kingdoms were at stake, and, when popery and arbitrary power were apparently in danger to sweep away all before them like a mighty torrent. Blessed be God for that great work! and may his good providence, from time to time, seasonably defeat, and effectually confound every attempt, that is made to wrest out of our hands the invaluable blessings of the protestant succession. How weak, and how wicked are the ground and motives of the present rebellion! and how little good can be expected from a set of men, whose very claims of power are founded upon the principles of tyranny, upon the ruins of *British* liberty!

3. Finally, what abundant cause have we to be *thankful* to God, that we now live under a government, which we can obey with pleasure and satisfaction! a government, whose *yoke is easy*, and whose *burden is light*, in comparison with the nations around us; a govern-

government under which liberty and property are preserved entire, without any stretching of the prerogative to injure and oppress the subject! who can wonder, if such a government as this can be as much admired and caressed at home, by the sensible and sober part of the nation, as it is envied and feared abroad?—it is an happy circumstance for us, that the throne of these realms now stands upon the principles of liberty; and that the present royal family sways the sceptre, in consequence of a revolution, which proceeded from those principles.* This may justly be looked upon as a good omen, and a great security, under God, of the long continuance of our most valuable rights and privileges, both civil and sacred. Let us thankfully rejoice in the pleasing prospect; and let us testify our gratitude to the king of kings, by joining hearts and hands at this important crisis, in supporting the royal family, which is now in possession of the crown; and which divine providence hath raised up to be the defenders of our faith, the guardians of our liberty, and the glory of our land. And let all the people say, AMEN.

* See the king's most excellent speech to the parliament, at the opening of the present sessions.

